

## Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9317

INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

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USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USLOSACLANT

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USDEL SALT TWO

AMEMBASSY ATHENS UNN

AMEMBASSY ANKARA UNN

AMEMBASSY SOFIA UNN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI UNN

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA UNN

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE UNN

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE UNN

AMEMBASSY MADRID UNN

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GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM JS REP MBFR

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: MBFR: AD HOC GROUP MEETING, JUNE 22, 1973

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1. BEGIN SUMMARY: US REP RESPONDED TO CRITICISM BY ACTING BELGIAN  
REP IN JUNE 20 AD HOC GROUP MEETING. HE EXPLAINED THAT THE QUESTION  
OF HOLDING PLENARIES IN JUNE 20 EMISSARIES SESSION CAME UP BECAUSE  
THE SOVIET REP HAD RAISED IT AHD HAD MADE STATEMENTS ON THE SUB-

JECT WHICH US REP BELIEVED REQUIRED ON- THE- SPOT REBUTTAL. MOST REPS FELT THAT AN UNDERSTANDING ALONG LINES OF SOVIET REP' S JUNE 22 STATEMENT THAT ANY DIRECT PARTICIPANT HAD THE RIGHT TO CALL A PLENARY WAS DESIRABLE AND MARKED AN ADVANCE. ACTING TURKISH REP MADE CASE FOR FLANK RIGHT TO CALL PLENARIES BUT SUBSIDED. ACTING BELGIAN REP PERSISTED IN HIS ARGUMENT ON PROCEDURAL GROUNDS THAT QUESTION OUGHT NOT TO HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED, BUT HAD NO SUBSTANTIVE OBJECTIONS AND WAS NOT SUPPORTED IN GROUP.

2. AD HOC GROUP GENERALLY AGREED WITH SOVIET REP THAT IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO HAVE NO STATEMENTS AT CONCLUDING PLENARY. GROUP AGREED WITH AN APPROACH SUGGESTED BY UK REP FOR CONTINGENCY RESPONSES TO POSSIBLE ROMANIAN STATEMENTS AT FINAL PLENARY.

3. ON PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES, US REP PROPOSED THAT MEMBERS OF GROUP SEEK INSTRUCTIONS ON SOVIET PROPOSAL TO ASK AUSTRIAN AUTHORITIES TO APPLY UN CONVENTION ON CONFERENCES. HE SAID HE WOULD RECOMMEND IT TO US AUTHORITIES AS SIMPLE, PRACTICAL SOLUTION. GROUP NOTED NAO SECURITY EXPERT' S BRIEF THAT TWO OF THREE FLOORS IN GUMPENDORFERSTRASSE BUILDING MIGHT NOT BE SECURE. END SUMMARY.

4. FURTHER DISCUSSION OF JUNE 20 QUADRILATERAL. US REP REGRETTED THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN PRESENT AT JUNE 20 AD HOC GROUP MEETING. HE HAD LEFT VIENNA BEFORE REVIEWING REPORT OF QUADRILATERAL MEETING EARLIER THAT DAY, AND WISHED TO CORRECT SOME ERRORS IN THE DRAFT. AT THE JUNE 20 AD HOC MEETING QUESTIONS HAD BEEN RAISED CONCERNING STATEMENTS HE HAD MADE AT THE EMISSARIES MEETING WITH EAST EARLIER THAT DAY. US REP SAID HE NORMALLY WOULD NOT HAVE OBJECTED TO THIS PROCEDURE, BUT SINCE THERE HAD OF LATE BEEN GREATER EMPHASIS ON PROCEDURE IN THE AD HOC GROUP, HE WISHED ON PROCEDURAL GROUNDS TO SUGGEST THAT THERE BE A RULING THAT HEREAFTER SUCH DISCUSSION BE DEFERRED UNTIL THE REP CONCERNED WAS PRESENT TO RESPOND. AS THE GROUP KNEW, THEUS REP WAS A PROPONENT OF THE EMISSARY SYSTEM AT APPROPRIATE POINTS IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. HE FELT STRONGLY THAT EMISSARIES SHOULD CLOSELY FOLLOW THE AGREED LINE OF THE GROUP, AND BELIEVED THEY SHOULD ALWAYS BE PREPARED FREELY TO ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS ABOUT WHETHER THEIR INSTRUCTIONS OF CONFIDENTIAL

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THE GROUP HAD BEEN CARRIED OUT. IF EMISSARIES ARE USED THEY SHOULD EXPECT TO BE CALLED TO ACCOUNT FROM TIME TO TIME.

5. US REP WENT ON TO CORRECT POINTS IN THE DRAFT RECORD OF THE JUNE 20 QUADRILATERAL MEETING. FIRST, THERE HAD BEEN NO SUGGESTION THAT ALL PARTIES COULD CALL FOR A PLENARY. RATHER US REP SAID THAT IF A PLENARY WAS ASKED FOR, IT SHOULD BE HELD. LATER IN THE SESSION WITH THE EAST, HE HAD MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE REFERRED TO EASTERN AND WESTERN SIDES CALLING FOR A PLENARY. SECOND, HE BELIEVED THE SOVIET RESPONSE ON THE QUESTION OF CALLING PLENARIES WAS MORE POSITIVE THAN THE DRAFT REPORT HAD INDICATED. SOVIET REP KHLESTOV HAD NODDED WHEN US REP SAID WEST WOULD OPERATE ON THE PRINCIPLE THAT WHEN EITHER SIDE CALLED FOR A PLENARY IT SHOULD BE HELD. ON THE

BASIS OF PAST EXPERIENCE WITH KHLESTOV US REP TOOK IT THAT THE PROPOSITION WOULD BE CONSIDERED FAIRLY POSITIVELY. THIS IMPRESSION HAD BEEN BORNE OUT AT JUNE 22 QUADRILATERAL. THIRD, THE DRAFT REPORT LEFT THE IMPRESSION THAT WEST CONDONED OR ACCEPTED FACT THAT THERE HAD NOT BEEN PLENARIES. THE VERY REASON US REP HAD RAISED THE QUESTION AT ALL WAS THAT SOVIET REP KHLESTOV MADE TWO ASSERTIONS, THAT ALLIES AGREE THAT THERE BE NO PLENARIES, AND THAT THE ALLIES ACCEPTED THE IDEA THAT PLENARIES WERE ONLY FOR THE RATIFICATION OF WORK DONE ELSEWHERE. THESE HAD CALLED FOR REBUTTAL ON THE SPOT.

6. US REP RECALLED THE EARLIER HISTORY OF THE QUESTION OF WHO COULD CALL PLENARIES. ON MAY 4. WHEN DUTCH REP AND US REP DISCUSSED POWERS OF CHAIRMAN OF PLENARIES WITH SOVIET REP IT HAD BEEN UNDERSTOOD THAT PLENARIES WOULD BE SUGGESTED BY CHAIRMAN AFTER CONSULTING WITH OTHER DELEGATIONS. IT HAD NOT REPEAT NOT BEEN ESTABLISHED THAT THIS CONSULTATION SHOULD REST ON CONSENSUS. SINCE THEN WEST HAD PRESSE FOR AN OBTAINED EASTERN AGREEMENT TO HOLD PLENARIES ON SEVERAL DATES, WHICH WRE NOT IN FACT HELD BECAUSE OF SOVIET REFUSAL TO HOLD THEM. US REP HAD NOT GONE TO JUNE 20 QUADRILATERAL MEETING INTENDING TO RAISE QUESTION OF HOLDING PLENARIES. THE SOVIET REP HAD RAISED THE SUBJECT AND IMPLIED THAT THE WEST HAD AGREED NOT TO HOLD PLENARIES. US REP HAD FELT THAT IT WAS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL TO REFUTE THIS POINT. IN DOING SO, US REP BELIEVED HE WAS ACTING IN ACCORDANCE WITH SUGGESTION EARLIER MADE BY BELGIAN REP IN JUNE 4 PLENARY THAT IF A GROUP OF PARTICIPANTS CALLED FOR A PLENARY, IT SHOULD BE HELD. THIS VIEW HAD BEEN ACCEPTED BY AD HOC GROUP AT THE TIME. AS ACTING BELGIAN REP HAD NOTED IN AD HOC SESSION OF JUNE 15, MAJORITY OF GROUP WAS NOT PREPARED TO GO TO PLENARY  
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WITHOUT EAST BEING PRESENT, BUT NONETHELESS THE PRINCIPLE ENUNCIATED BY BELGIAN REP ADREAENSSEN STOOD. IN THE LIGHT OF THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, US REP CONSIDERED HE HAD SPOKEN ENTIRELY IN CONCERT WITH CONCEPTS WHICH HAD BEEN DISCUSSED WITHIN THE GROUP. HOWEVER, HE STOOD TO BE CORRECTED IF MAJORITY OF GROUP FELT OTHERWISE.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9318  
INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY  
MBFR CAPITALS 602  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USNMR SHAPE  
USCINCEUR  
USLOSACLANT  
USDOCOSOUTH  
USDEL SALT TWO II  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS UNN  
AMEMBASSY ANKARA UNN  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA UNN  
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI UNN  
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7. AFTER A PAUSE IN WHICH THERE WAS NO COMMENT, ACTING BELGIAN REP REGRETTED THAT US REP HAD NOT BEEN PRESENT AT JUNE 20 AD HOC MEETING. IT WAS TRUE HE HAD BEEN UPSET THAT THE EMISSARIES HAD MET FOR A PRECISE PURPOSE ON JUNE 20 AND DISCUSSED THREE OTHER TOPICS, NAMELY, HOLDING OF PLENARIES, COMPOSITION OF WORKING GROUPS AND PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES. ACTING BELGIAN REP WISHED TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT IT WAS UNDERSTOOD THAT IF THE EASTERN SIDE WISHED TO RAISE A QUESTION, IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE FOR AN EMISSARY TO DECLINE TO HEAR IT. IT WAS CONFIDENTIAL

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A GOOD PROCEDURE TO SAY ONE WOULD REPORT BACK TO THE AD HOC GROUP, AS DANISH REP HAD SAID AT ONE POINT IN QUADRILATERAL EARLIER ON JUNE 22. AS FOR US REP'S RAISING QUESTION OF WORKING GROUPS ON A PERSONAL BASIS, ACTING BELGIAN REP SAID THAT HE REGRETTED IT ON A PERSONAL BASIS. THE QUESTION OF PROCEDURES FOR HOLDING PLENARIES WAS THE MOST IMPORTANT QUESTION FOR BELGIUM, AND ACTING BELGIAN REP BELIEVED THAT GROUP SHOULD SPEAK TO IT ONLY ON THE BASIS OF A COORDINATED WESTERN POSITION. IF THE PROBLEM IS TACTICAL IT SHOULD BE COORDINATED IN THE AD HOC GROUP; IF IT WAS A QUESTION OF STRATEGY IT SHOULD BE COORDINATED IN NAC. EVERYONE IN GROUP WAS CONVINCED THAT THE MATTER OF PLENARIES WAS SERIOUS AND FUNDAMENTAL. IT WAS SO IMPORTANT THAT BELGIAN AUTHORITIES INTENDED TO TABLE A PAPER IN NAC ON THE SUBJECT IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS. ACTING BELGIAN REP SAID US REP HAD IN THE QUADRILATERALS DEFENDED A THEORY WHICH WAS IN NEARLY TOTAL CONFORMITY WITH BELGIUM'S NATIONAL POSITION. HOWEVER, AS A MATTER OF METHODS OF WORK, ACTING BELGIAN REP BELIEVED THAT THE SUBJECT SHOULD NOT BE DISCUSSED WITH THE OTHER SIDE IF WEST IS NOT COMPLETE AGREEMENT. HE READ HIS LATEST INSTRUCTION FROM BRUSSELS TO EFFECT THAT BELGIUM WAS NOT OPPOSED TO USE OF EMISSARIES

AT PRESENT TIME BUT THAT EMISSARIES SHOULD ADHERE TO POSITIONS WORKED OUT IN AD HOC GROUP.

8. ADDRESSING US REP'S STATEMENT, ACTING BELGIAN REP SAID HE REGRETTED THAT US REP HAD BEEN ABSENT FROM MEETING ON JUNE 20, BUT HE ASSURED US REP HE WAS NOT ACCUSING HIM. ACTING BELGIAN REP AGREED THAT EMISSARIES SHOULD FOLLOW AGREED LINES, BUT HE DID NOT FEEL THAT THAT HAD BEEN DONE ON JUNE 20. US REP HAD CITED EARLIER BELGIAN POSITIONS, BUT THERE WAS A BIG DIFFERENCE BETWEEN POSITIONS ON PLENARIES DURING THE CONSULTATIONS AND IN THE NEGOTIATIONS PROPER. THE QUESTION OF PLENARIES NEGOTIATIONS HAD BEEN RAISED WITH THE EAST, AND ACTING BELGIAN REP REGRETTED THIS ASPECT.

9. US REP RESPONDED THAT THE MISSION OF AD HOC GROUP AS ESTABLISHED BY THE COUNCIL HAD BEEN TO WORK OUT PROCEDURES FOR THE CONSULTATIONS AND TO CARRY THEM OVER FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS. ( REF PARA 1, C- M (72) 91). PROCEDURES HAD BEEN DEVELOPED WHICH WERE TO APPLY TO BOTH. ACTUAL SOVIET BEHAVIOR IN THE PRESENT TALKS HAD INDICATED THAT THERE WAS A WHOLE OR MISUNDERSTANDING IN THE PROCEDURES WHICH HAD BEEN WORKED OUT AS FAR AS PLENARIES WERE CONCERNED. AD HOC  
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GROUP WOULD NOT FULFILL ITS MISSION FROM THE COUNCIL AND WOULD BE REPROACHED BY THE MBFR NEGOTIATORS IF THIS PROBLEM WERE NOT RESOLVED BY THOSE WHO HAD FORMULATED AGREED PROCEDURES IN THE FIRST PLACE. MOREOVER, THE PRESENT OCCASION, IT HAD BEEN SOVIET REP KHLESTOV WHO HAD RAISED THE SUBJECT IN A FASHION WHICH INVOLVED BOTH THE CONSULTATIONS AND NEGOTIATIONS. THERE WAS NO SUPPORT FOR BELGIAN PROCEDURAL OBJECTIONS IN GROUP.

JUNE 22 QUADRILATERAL

10. US AND DANISH REPS DISTRIBUTED REPORT OF THEIR JUNE 22 MEETING WITH SOVIET AND POLISH REPS. ( TEXT SEPTTEL)

11. ACTING TURKISH REP ( UNAN) SAID HE DID NOT UNDERSTAND LOGIC OF EASTERN POSITION THAT ONLY DIRECT PARTICIPANTS HAD THE RIGHT TO CALL PLENARIES. SOME PLENARIES MIGHT NOT ACTUALLY BE FOR PURPOSE OF TAKING A DECISION, AND THEREFORE IT WAS NOT NECESSARY TO DRAW A DISTINCTION BETWEEN DIRECT AND FLANK PARTICIPANTS. US REP EXPLAINED THAT SOVIET REP HAD VIEWED RIGHT TO CALL A PLENARY AS DERIVATIVE FROM RIGHT OF DIRECT PARTICIPANT TO INTRODUCE TOPICS FOR NEGOTIATION. HE FELT THAT THE ACTING TURKISH REP'S POINT WAS PRESSING THE QUESTION TO AN EXTREME. HE ASSUMED THAT AS A PRACTICAL MATTER MEMBERS OF THE AD HOC GROUP WOULD ALWAYS BE RESPONSIVE TO ALLIED FLANK COUNTRIES CONCERNS IN THIS REGARD. US REP BELIEVED THAT DISCUSSION HAD HAD A FAVORABLE OUTCOME WITH SOVIET REP NOW RECOGNIZING RIGHT OF EITHER SIDE TO CALL FOR A PLENARY.

12. TURKISH REP SAID HE WOULD HAVE PREFERRED A FORMULATION WHICH SAID THAT EITHER SIDE MIGHT CALL A PLENARY. HE BELIEVED HIS AUTHORITIES WOULD BE DISPLEASED BY SOVIET REP'S FORMULA, AND COULD

NOT PREDICT THEIR REACTION. US REP AGAIN ASSURED HIM THAT THAT IS WHAT THE FORMULA WOULD AMOUNT TO IN PRACTICE, AND SUGGESTED THAT HE NEED NOT BE CONCERNED. DUTCH REP (QUARLES) ASKED HOW WOULD UNDERSTANDING WITH SOVIET REP BE REGISTERED. US REP SAID THAT THE WESTERN EMISSARY WOULD REPLY ORALLY.

13. ACTING BELGIAN REP SAID HE WAS TOTALLY OPPOSED TO THIS PROCEDURE. THE AD HOC GROUP COULD NOT, IN HIS OPINION, GO ON TO DEAL WITH THIS QUESTION WITHOUT THE BLESSING OF THE COUNCIL. NO WHERE IN THE LITERATURE ESTABLISHING THE AD HOC GROUP AND PARTICULARLY NO WHERE IN THE JANUARY 16 GUIDELINES DID IT SAY THAT THE GROUP HAD TO SETTLE THE MATTER OF PLENARIES FOR NEGOTIATIONS. HE FELT  
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THAT BEFORE DISCUSSION WITH THE EAST IT WAS NECESSARY TO HAVE A DISCUSSION IN NAC.

14. US REP ASKED ACTING BELGIAN REP IF HE BELIEVED HIS AUTHORITIES OPPOSED THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PROPOSAL. ACTING BELGIAN REP DID NOT RESPOND DIRECTLY. HE ADMITTED THAT HE HAD SAID ON JUNE 20 THAT US REP'S REMARKS WERE IN TOTAL CONFORMITY WITH BELGIAN POSITION. HE HAD NOT HOWEVER RECEIVED A COPY OF THE PAPER WHICH BELGIUM WAS ABOUT TO TABLE IN NAC. US REP OBSERVED THAT THE CONCLUSION SEEMED TO BE THAT THERE WAS TOTAL CONFORMITY WITH BELGIAN POSITION BUT ACTING BELGIAN REP WAS NOT PREPARED TO CONFIRM IT.

15. DUTCH REP SAID THAT AD HOC GROUP COULD NOT HAVE EXPECTED MORE FAVORABLE RESULT THAN WHAT HAD BEEN OBTAINED, AND HE REGARDED SOVIET AGREEMENT TO PRINCIPLE OF HOLDING PLENARIES UPON REQUEST AS A WELCOME DEVELOPMENT. US REP REPEATED THAT AD HOC GROUP WAS IN FACT

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MBFR CAPITALS 603

USMISSION GENEVA  
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AMEMBASSY BELGRADE UNN  
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GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

INSTRUCTED TO DISCUSS PROCEDURES FOR NEGOTIATIONS AS WELL AS FOR CONSULTATIONS, AND THAT IN APPLICATION OF AGREED PROCEDURES A GAP HAD APPEARED. IN HIS OPINION, IT WAS WELL WITHIN THE SCOPE OF THE GROUP'S AUTHORITY TO SEEK TO CORRECT THE DEFICIENCY.

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16. ACTING FRG REP ( HOFMANN) BELIEVED THAT THE SOVIET PROPOSAL WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO HIS AUTHORITIES. THEY WOULD ACCEPT THE TERM " SIDE", BUT FRG REP FELT IT WAS INCONCEIVABLE THAT GROUP WOULD IN FUTURE HAVE DIFFICULTY IN EITHER AGREEING TO A FLANK PROPOSAL OR IN PERSUADING A FLANK MEMBER THAT A SPECIFIC PROPOSED PLENARY MIGHT BE DISADVANTAGEOUS TO THE COMMON INTEREST. HE BELIEVED THAT A RULE MADE IN TERMS OF A " SIDE" CALLING FOR A PLENARY WOULD BE TO THE WEST'S ADVANTAGE; IF IT WERE LEFT TO A SINGLE COUNTRY, THEN THERE WOULD BE THE PROBLEM OF POSSIBLE ROMANIAN CALLS FOR MEETINGS. IN SUM, FRG COULD SETTLE FOR " SIDE" FORMULA, OR DIRECT PARTICIPANT FORMULA.

17. DUTCH REP OBSERVED THAT THERE WAS AN UNDERLYING PROBLEM WHICH WOULD IN ANY CASE REMAIN. IT WAS, AFTER ALL, NOT JUST A MATTER OF THE EAST'S REFUSING TO COME TO A PLENARY, BUT THERE WOULD ALWAYS HAVE TO BE A TACTICAL CALCULATION OF WHETHER CALLING FOR A PLENARY WHICH THE OTHER SIDE WAS UNREADY FOR WOULD BE TO THE WEST'S ADVANTAGE. IT MIGHT BE, AS IT HAD BEEN IN THE PAST, THAT SUCH A PLENARY MIGHT RISK LOSS OF SOME PREVIOUSLY OBTAINED GAINS IN NEGOTIATIONS. ACTING TURKISH REP SAID THAT SINCE BELGIANS WERE PLANNING TO SUBMIT PAPER IN NAC, THE GROUP SHOULD WAIT UNTIL AFTER THERE HAD BEEN COORDINATION IN NAC.

18. ACTING BELGIAN REP THANKED TURKISH COLLEAGUE FOR HIS SUPPORT. HE SAID ALL DELEGATIONS HAD CONTACTS WITH EAST, AND THAT WAS

PROPER SINCE ONE AIM OF CONSULTATIONS WAS TO FIND OUT WHAT EASTERN DELEGATIONS HAD IN MIND. WHETHER THEY WOULD DISCUSS STATIONED FORCES, ETC. HOWEVER, WHEN AN EMISSARY RAISES A QUESTION ON WHICH THERE WAS NOT AGREEMENT, THIS CREATES A PROBLEM. HE AGREED WITH TURKISH SUGGESTION THAT DISCUSSION NOT ONLY IN AD HOC GROUP BUT ALSO WITH THE EAST AWAIT NAC COORDINATION.

19. US REP SUGGESTED THAT WHEN ACTING BELGIAN REP REPORTED TO BRUSSELS WHAT HAD BEEN OFFERED BY EAST ON PLENARIES, HIS AUTHORITIES MIGHT AGREE WITH IT. HE ALSO SUGGESTED THAT THE CHAIRMAN'S WEEKLY REPORT DRAW ATTENTION TO WHAT HAD BEEN OBTAINED IN THE EXCHANGE.

20. ACTING BELGIAN REP SAID ONCE MORE THAT HE DID NOT KNOW OPINIONS OF BELGIAN PAPER TO BE TABLED IN NAC, BUT HE AGREED THAT CONFIDENTIAL

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CHAIRMAN SHOULD NOTE THAT SOME OR A MAJORITY OF DELEGATES FAVORED THE IDEA. AS FOR BELGIAN NATIONAL POSITION, HE WOULD OF COURSE REPORT ON THE SUBJECT. DANISH CHAIRMAN (POULSEN) AGREED TO INCLUDE THE SUBJECT IN HIS WEEKLY REPORT, AND ASK FOR AN EARLY COUNCIL DECISION. DUTCH REP ASKED IF BELGIAN PAPER WOULD BE TABLED ON JUNE 25. ACTING BELGIAN REP DID NOT KNOW, AND DUTCH REP OBSERVED THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO GET THIS MATTER SETTLED BEFORE THE FINAL PLENARY, IN VIENNA.

21. US REP NOTED THAT BELGIAN, TURKISH AND FRG REPS HAD INDICATED VARYING DEGREES OF FAVORABLE REACTION TO THE PROPOSAL. US REP FAVORED IT, TOO. A CONFIRMATORY REPLY TO SOVIET REP WOULD SUFFICE TO ACHIEVE A WESTERN OBJECTIVE; THE UNDERSTANDING NEED NOT BE WRITTEN. DANISH REP SAID HE WOULD FAVOR THE OUTCOME OF THE QUADRILATERAL; HE WOULD PREFER THE FORMULATION USING THE WORD "SIDE." ACTING CANADIAN REP AGREED WITH DANISH REP, BUT BELIEVED EAST MIGHT NOT ACCEPT "SIDE," AND WAS PREPARED TO TAKE FORMULATION SOVIET REP HAD USED. ACTING UK REP SAID THAT, BEARING IN MIND THE ROMANIAN PROBLEM, THE FORMULA WITH "SIDE" WOULD BE VERY GOOD, BUT MIGHT NOT BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE SOVIET REP. UK AUTHORITIES WOULD PROBABLY ACCEPT REFERENCE TO DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT FLANK COUNTRIES' VIEWS WOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN FUTURE IMPLEMENTATION. ACTING GREEK REP SAID HE PERSONALLY PREFERRED "SIDE", BUT THOUGHT SOVIETS WOULD RESIST SUCH REFERENCE TO ALLIANCES. HE WAS GRATIFIED TO SEE GROUP'S APPRECIATION OF FLANK INTEREST IN THIS QUESTION. ACTING ITALIAN REP (PAOLINI) HAD NO INSTRUCTIONS.

22. ACTING BELGIAN REP ASKED WHETHER RESPONSES MEANT THAT A CLEAR MAJORITY FAVORED SETTLING THE MATTER IN VIENNA NOW, SO THAT HE COULD REPORT. ACTING FRG REP SAID SEVERAL REPS HAD NOT SPOKEN TO QUESTION OF PROCEDURE. IN HIS OPINION IT WAS NECESSARY TO SETTLE THAT WHAT HAD OCCURRED WITH RESPECT TO NOT HOLDING PLENARIES DID NOT CONSTITUTE A PRECEDENT FOR THE FALL. THIS, HE BELIEVED, HAD NOW BEEN ACCOMPLISHED. AS FOR THE REST, HE DID



NOT BELIEVE IT WAS SO URGENT, AND THOUGHT THAT THERE MIGHT BE  
TIME FOR AUTHORITIES TO CONSIDER THE MATTER IN BRUSSELS.

23. DUTCH REP NOTED THAT THE TACTICAL QUESTION OF WHETHER A  
PLENARY IS DESIRABLE IF THE OTHER SIDE REFUSES TO SPEAK WILL IN  
ANY CASE REMAIN. THEY CANNOT BE FORCED TO SPEAK; THEY MIGHT JUST  
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READ OUT " ALICE IN WONDERLAND." A JURIDICAL LOOPHOLE HAD BEEN  
DISCOVERED, AND THERE WAS A GOOD SOLUTION TO IT. NEVERTHELESS,  
THE TACTICAL QUESTION OF WHETHER TO HOLD A SPECIFIC PLENARY  
WILL REQUIRE DISCUSSION IN THE AD HOC GROUP AT THE TIME WHEN IT  
ARISES. DUTCH REP ALSO NOTED THAT WEEKLY PLENARIES MIGHT BE  
DESIRABLE IN ORDER TO AVOID DECISIONS ON THE QUESTION OF  
WHETHER TO HOLD MEETINGS OR NOT. ACTING TURKISH REP SAID HE COULD  
FORESEE FUTURE SITUATIONS IN WHICH THE WEST MIGHT WANT PLENARIES  
IN ORDER TO SAY SOMETHING TO THE EAST RATHER THAN TO TRY TO FORCE  
THE EAST TO SPEAK. AND HE COULD FORESEE OCCASIONS WHEN FLANK  
COUNTRIES MIGHT HAVE SOMETHING TO SAY. HE BELIEVED THAT  
THE ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF VARIOUS SOLUTIONS  
SHOULD BE CONSIDERED MORE FULLY. ACTING UK REP

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SAID IT WAS DESIRABLE TO SETTLE THE QUESTION WHILE DELEGATIONS WERE STILL IN VIENNA, BUT IT WOULD NOT BE THE END OF THE WORLD IF THE MATTER WERE LEFT TO THE NEGOTIATIONS.

24. STATEMENTS AT FINAL PLENARY. DANISH CHAIRMAN NOTED THAT UPON REFLECTION SOVIET REP PREFERRED THAT THERE BE NO STATEMENTS AT FINAL PLENARY. UK REP SAID HE WOULD MUCH PREFER THERE BEING NO SPEECHES OF SUBSTANCE AND SAID LONDON WOULD BE VERY CONFIDENTIAL

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HAPPY IF SOVIET REP COULD PERSUADE OTHER EASTERN DELEGATIONS. IF THE ROMANIAN REP DOES COMMENT ON THE COMMUNIQUE, UK REP HOPED THAT GROUP COULD SEE HIS TEXT BEFOREHAND. ON THE POINTS WHICH THE ROMANIANS MIGHT BRING UP: A PROPOSAL TO REVERSE THE ORDER OF PHRASES IN THE SENTENCE ON BRINGING UP TOPICS FOR NEGOTIATION COULD BE IGNORED SINCE IT WAS MERELY EDITORIAL. A PROPOSAL TO EXTEND THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY TO ANY EUROPEAN STATE MIGHT BE MET WITH A STATEMENT SAYING ( ACTING UK REP PROVIDED TEXT WHICH HAD BEEN ADAPTED FROM CSCE COMMITTEE I MANDATE): " IN CONSIDERING QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE MUTUAL REDUCTION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS, AND ASSOCIATED MEASURES, IN CENTRAL EUROPE, THE PARTICIPANTS WILL BEAR IN MIND THE BROADER CONTEXT OF EUROPEAN SECURITY." IF ROMANIAN DEL FURTHER STATES THAT THE COMMUNIQUE SHOULD HAVE CONTAINED PROVISION FOR INVITING OTHER EUROPEAN STATES, THE WESTERN SPOKESMAN COULD SIMPLY REPLY TO THE EFFECT THAT IT HAD BEEN AGREED BY ALL PARTICIPANTS THAT ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE THOSE SET OUT IN THE RECORD OF THE PLENARY SESSION OF 14 MAY.

25. ACTING BELGIAN REP SAID HE COULD SUPPORT UK TEXT. US REP AGREED AS DID DANISH REP. DUTCH REP NOTED THAT POINT ABOUT INVITING OTHERS HAD ALREADY BEEN AGREED; US REP SAID THAT THERE WAS SUCH AN AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIETS, BUT ROMANIANS MIGHT NEVERTHELESS RAISE IT.

26. ACTING FRG REP ASKED ABOUT WHERE STATEMENT OF INTERPRETATION OF COMMUNIQUE PASSAGE ON RIGHT TO INTRODUCE SUBJECTS FOR NEGOTIATION WOULD BE MADE. US REP NOTED AN OMISSION FROM TEXT OF REPORT ON QUADRILATERAL; SOVIET REP HAD AGREED IT MIGHT BE DONE AT THE FINAL QUADRILATERAL MEETING.

27. ACTING GREEK REP AGREED WITH THE UK TEXT, BUT WONDERED WHETHER THERE MIGHT BE A WAY TO WAVE INTO IT THE POINT THAT UNDIMINISHED SECURITY INCLUDE THE FLANKS. UK REP SAID HIS

AUTHORITIES WOULD NOT OBJECT IN PRINCIPLE TO SUCH AN AMENDMENT. ACTING CANADIAN REP SAID ROMANIANS MIGHT TRY TO INSERT A STATEMENT INTO THE COMMUNIQUE INVITING NEUTRAL PARTICIPATION. UK REP DID NOT BELIEVE THEIR INTRODUCTION OF THE SUBJECT WOULD TAKE QUITE THAT FORM. US REP POINTED OUT THAT THE WESTERN RESPONSE WOULD BE SUBSTANTIALLY THE SAME IF ROMANIAN INTERVENTION TOOK THE FORM OF COMMUNIQUE AMENDMENT. UK REP AGREED. US REP  
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SUGGESTED GROUP SHOULD WAIT UNTIL CLOSE TO THE DAY OF THE FINAL PLENARY BEFORE TRYING TO FIND OUT WHAT STATEMENT ROMANIAN REP MAY PLAN

TO MAKE IN ORDER TO FIVE SOVIET REP MAXIMUM TIME TO ATTEMPT TO PERSUADE HIM NOT TO SPEAK. DANISH CHAIRMAN ASKED IF GROUP AGREED WITH SOVIET PREFERENCE THAT THERE BE NO SPEECHES. THIS WAS CASE.

28. PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES. US SAID HE BELIEVED POSITION OUTLINED BY SOVIET REP ON PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES ( ASKING AUSTRIAN AUTHORITIES TO APPLY UN CONVENTION) WAS REASONABLE AND SAID HE WAS PREPARED TO RECOMMEND IT TO HIS AUTHORITIES AS THE PRAGMATIC WAY TO DEAL WITH THE SUBJECT. DANISH REP NOTED THAT THE GROUP HAD AGREED ON JUNE 20 TO GET GENERAL GUIDANCE ON THE SUBJECT FROM THEIR CAPITALS. US REP POINTED OUT THAT SOVIET REP HAD NOW GIVEN WEST SOMETHING MORE SPECIFIC TO ADDRESS. IF MEMBERS OF GROUP SEEK GENERAL GUIDANCE, ALL MIGHT RECEIVE DIFFERENT ANSWERS; HE PROPOSED TO PUT MORE SPECIFIC SOVIET PROPOSAL TO HIS AUTHORITIES.

29. DUTCH REP ASKED IF THERE WOULD BE A WRITTEN ASSURANCE FROM AUSTRIANS. US REP SAID HE WAS PREPARED TO ACCEPT AN ORAL STATEMENT FROM THEM, BUT DID NOT OPPOSE WRITTEN UNDERSTANDING. DANISH REP SAID THIS SOLUTION MIGHT DO FOR NATIONAL DELEGATIONS, BUT IT WOULD NOT COVER NATO REPRESENTATION ( IS, IMS, SHAPE). US REPLIED THAT THE WHOLE SUBJECT WOULD PROBABLY HAVE TO BE TACKLED IN TWO STAGES. AFTER PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES FOR NATIONAL DELEGATIONS SETTLED, IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO ADDRESS THE QUESTION OF NATO REPRESENTATION. IT SEEMED UNLIKELY THAT AUSTRIA AS A NEUTRAL COUNTRY WOULD ACCORD STATUS TO NATO QUA NATO, AND MOST PRACTICAL WOULD BE TO INCLUDE STAFF MEMBERS IN RESPECTIVE NATIONAL DELEGATIONS.

30. ACTING BELGIAN REP SAID THAT SINCE NAC HAD DECIDED THAT BELGIAN REP SHOULD SERVE AS SPOKESMAN IN DEALING WITH AUSTRIANS HE WOULD HAVE TO DEAL WITH THE QUESTION. HE WAS PERSUADED FROM THE DISCUSSION IN THE GROUP THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO HAVE CLEARER IDEA OF JUST WHAT THE WEST WANTED. UK REP SAID HE COULD NOT RECOMMEND ORAL STATEMENT BY AUSTRIANS TO HIS AUTHORITIES. HE ALSO SAID LONDON MIGHT PREFER SIMPLY TO NOTIFY MEMBERS OF NATIONAL DELEGATIONS TO AUSTRIANS AS ADDITIONAS TO THE EMBASSY  
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STAFFS. ACTING FRG REP SAID HE AGREED THT IT WAS NOT NECESSARY TO CONCLUDE A TREATY WITH AUSTRIA, BUT HE TOO WOULD PREFER SOMETHING IN WRITING. HE COULD ENVISION A SOLUTION IN WHICH THE AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT WOULD SEND A LETTER WHICH APPENDED A COPY OF THE INTERNAL INSTRUCTION TO AUSTRIAN OFFICIALS ON THE SUBJECT. THE AUSTRIANS WOULD NEED TO ISSUE SOME SORT OF INSTRUCTIONS TO THEIR PEOPLE, AND COULD SIMPLY PROVIDE A COPY.

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ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 NEA-10 IO-13 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-02

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15

USIA-12 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11 AECE-00 OMB-01

ACDA-19 RSR-01 /153 W

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P R 231443 Z JUN 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9321

INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

MBFR CAPITALS 605

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USLOSACLANT

USDOCOSOUTH

USDEL SALT TWO

AMEMBASSY ATHENS UNN

AMEMBASSY ANKARA UNN

AMEMBASSY SOFIA UNN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI UNN

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA UNN

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE UNN

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE UNN

AMEMBASSY MADRID UNN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 5 OF 5 VIENNA 5230

GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

31. DUTCH REP PREFERRED SOMETHING IN WRITING, AS SUGGESTED BY FRG DEL, OR ALTERNATIVELY THE SOLUTION OF ADDING DELEGATIONS

TO EMBASSY STAFFS. ACTING BELGIAN REP FELT IT WOULD BE PRUDENT TO HAVE SOMETHING WRITTEN. US REP REPLIED HE DID NOT OBJECT TO CONFIDENTIAL

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A LETTER FROM THE AUSTRIANS. BUT HE WAS CONCERNED TO AVOID A LONG, COMPLEX NEGOTIATION.

32. US REP NOTED THAT THE NAC DESIGNATION OF BELGIAN REP AS SPOKESMAN SEEMED TO COVER ONLY DEALINGS WITH AUSTRIAN AUTHORITIES. HE NOTED THAT ORIGINAL PROPOSAL HAD BEEN FOR BELGIAN REP TO DEAL AS WELL WITH SUCH OTHER MATTERS OF SUBSTANCE AS MIGHT ARISE BETWEEN THE CONSULTATIONS AND THE NEGOTIATIONS. ACTING BELGIAN REP AGREED AND ASKED WHETHER CHAIRMAN HAD INCLUDED BOTH POINTS IN HIS REQUEST. DANISH CHAIRMAN SAID HE HAD MERELY ASKED FOR A GENERAL RENEWAL OF THE BELGIAN REP'S MANDATE, AND AGREED TO SEND ANOTHER REQUEST TO COVER THIS POINT.

33. WORKING GROUPS IN NEGOTIATIONS. ON THE QUESTION OF WORKING GROUPS ACTING UK REP ASKED IF GROUP WOULD AGREE THAT THE ORAL ASSURANCE OBTAINED FROM SOVIET REP IN JUNE 22 MEETING WAS SATISFACTORY, AND WAS AS MUCH AS COULD BE OBTAINED AT THIS TIME. US REP SUPPORTED ACTING UK REP. ACTING GREEK REP NOTED THAT HE STILL HELD A GENERAL RESERVATION AGAINST ANY CLOSED WORKING GROUPS. ACTING TURKISH REP ASKED IF THIS MEANT SUBJECT OF OPEN-ENDED WORKING GROUPS WOULD NOT BE PURSUED FURTHER. DANISH REP SAID IT WOULD NOT AND US REP EXPLAINED THAT SUBJECT WAS WORKING GROUPS IN NEGOTIATIONS, NOT CONSULTATIONS. HE HAD RAISED IT IN RESPONSE TO INTERESTS OF FLANK STATES, AND A FAIRLY POSITIVE SOVIET RESPONSE HAD BEEN OBTAINED.

34. ACCOMMODATIONS. FRG REP NOTED THAT NATO SECURITY EXPERT'S REPORT HAD INDICATED THAT OF THREE FLOORS IN OFFICE BUILDING IN DOWNTOWN VIENNA WHICH MIGHT BE RENTED, ONLY MIDDLE FLOOR WOULD APPEAR TO BE SECURE FOR CONFERENCES AND CONVERSATIONS. US REP SAID THAT IT WOULD SEEM TO FOLLOW THAT TWO OF THE THREE FLOORS WOULD BE UNUSEABLE. HE SUGGESTED THAT PERHAPS HOUSING SUBCOMMITTEE SHOULD AGAIN LOOK FOR AN APARTMENT HOUSE; THIS TIME OF SMALLER SIZE THAN THE OBERSTEINGASSE PROPERTY.

35. BELGIAN REP ASKED WHETHER SCHOENBURG PALAIS MIGHT NOT BE SUITABLE ON SECURITY GROUNDS. ACTING FRG REP SAID IT WAS TOO SMALL TO PROVIDE CONTACT ROOMS. IT WAS A MUSEUM PIECE UNDER PROTECTION OF AUSTRIAN LAW, AND INSTALLATION OF COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT MIGHT NOT BE POSSIBLE. STUCCO CONSTRUCTION AND WAS HANGINGS MADE FOR SECURITY PROBLEMS IN INTERIOR OF BUILDING. CONFIDENTIAL

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36. ACTING UK REP SAID THAT HIS READING OF SECURITY OFFICER'S BRIEF WAS THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO LOOK AGAIN FOR A NEW PROPERTY. DUTCH REP OBSERVED THAT IT MIGHT BE NECESSARY TO CUT DOWN ON

THE FORTY- ROOM REQUIREMENT FOR THE SMALL FACILITY. ACTING BELGIAN REP CONFIRMED THAT BELGIAN REQUIREMENT WOULD BE FOR TWO ROOMS. US REP OBSERVED THAT SOME COMMON ROOM LIKE A DELEGATES' LOUNGE MIGHT CUT DOWN ON REQUIREMENT FOR CONTACT ROOMS, THOUGH STORAGE SPACE WOULD STILL BE NECESSARY. US MIGHT FOREGO HAVING A ROOM OF ITS OWN ON PREMISES IF THIS WOULD EASE SUCCESSFUL SEARCH.

37. FRG REP PROPOSED TO WAIT UNTIL OPINION OF US SECURITY OFFICER WAS AVAILABLE BEFORE RULING OUT GUPPENDORFERSTRASSE BUILDING, AND US REP INDICATED US EXPERT WOULD VISIT BUILDING ON JUNE 22 OR 23. ACTING BELGIAN REP SAID HE WOULD TAKE UP QUESTION WITH AUSTRIAN OFFICIAL ( ZANETTI" AGAIN.

38. NEXT MEETING. ACTING BELGIAN REP INDICATED HE HAD RECEIVED SOME MINOR AMENDMENTS FROM BRUSSELS TO FRENCH TRANSLATION OF COMMUNIQUE. UK PRESS STATEMENT WAS PUT OFF UNTIL NEXT MEETING, SCHEDULED FOR AFTERNOON OF JUNE 25. HUMES

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

## Message Attributes

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MBFR CAPITALS  
GENEVA  
USNMR SHAPE  
USCINCEUR  
USLOSACLANT  
USDOCOSOUTH

SALT TWO  
ATHENS UNN  
ANKARA UNN  
SOFIA UNN  
HELSINKI UNN  
OTTAWA UNN  
PRAGUE UNN  
BELGRADE UNN  
MADRID UNN

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